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Message Text

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PAGE 01 JAKART 06424 241212Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 (ISO) W
---------- 032396
R 240825Z MAY 74
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2481
INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

S E C R E T JAKARTA 6424

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, ID, VS
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE INDONESIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ICCS

REF: JAKARTA 6327

1. SUMMARY: IF INDONESIANS ACCEPT PROPOSAL FOR ALDRICH VISIT, BELIEVE PRIMARY PURPOSE SHOULD BE TO REASSURE THEM RE OUR INTEREST IN VIETNAM PROBLEM, PROVIDE OUR VIEWS ON POSSIBILITY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND PROVIDE ASSESSMENT SITUATION ON GROUND AND LIKELY US HELP TO SAIGON. RISK EXISTS THAT GOI MAY RAISE QUESTION FINANCIAL SUPPORT OR BE FURTHER DISCOURAGED BY PICTURE ALDRICH PRESENTS. ON BALANCE WE BELIEVE EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION REALIITIES WITH EMPHASIS ON IMPORTANT ROLE OF ICCS WILL BE HELPFUL IN SUPPORTING THOSE IN GOI WHO FAVOR ICCS ROLE. END SUMMARY.

2. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON PRECISELY WHY INDONESIANS CHOSE TO RAISE QUESTION POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL FROM ICCS AND THEN APPARENTLY ACK AWAY. WE DO KNOW THAT PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT VALE OF INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION IN ICCS AND IS TROUBLED BY LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARD POLTIICAL SETTLEMENT. WE KNOW ALSO HE IS CONCERNED POSSIBLE WEAKENING U.S. ROLE BECAUSE OF OUR CURRENT DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES AND CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES. HE MAY ALSO FEAR THAT
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INDONESIAN EXPOSURE IN ICCS COULD CREATE DOMESTIC

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POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR HIM EITHER THROUGH CASUALTIES
OR THROUGH APPARENT DEPARTURE FROM TRADITIONAL
NONALIGNMENT. MOST LOGICCAL EXPLANATION OF LATEST
EVENTS IS THAT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT IN MEETING OF
STABILIZATION COUNCIL WAS TRIGGERED BY REPORTS OF
BREAK-OFF GVN-VIET CONG TALKS AND BY GROWING IMPASSE
IN ICCS. REPORT OF NEW LIMITATIONS ON U.S. AID TO
VIETNAM MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN ELEMENT.

3. WE HAVE INDICATION ALSO THAT ORIGINAL PRESS PLAY
OF GOI POSITION MAY HAVE SUGGESTED MORE IMMINENT
WITHDRAWL, OR MORE DEFINITE DECISION THAN SUHARTO
INTENDED AND THAT OUR DEMARCHE AND HANOI'S STATEMENT
WERE SEIZED ON TO JUSTIFY WITHDRAWING THREAT TO DEPART.
WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, SUAHRTO'S BASIC DOUBTS
HAVE BEEN RESOLVED.

4. WE DO NOT BELIEVE LATEST EVENTS WERE PART OF PLOY
TO INJECT GOI INTO DIPLOMATIC ROLE TOWARD POLTICAL
SETTLEMENT, THOUGH IT QUITE POSSIBLE QUESTION OF WITH-
DRAWAL WAS RAISED, IN PART, TO STIMULATE GRATER ACTIVITY
TOWARD SETTLEMENT. SUHARTO ALREADY SOMEWHAT RELUCTANTLY
INVOLVED IN PHILIPPINE/MALAYSIAN PROBLEM AND WE DOUBT
HE WOULD WISH TO TAKE ON ANOTHER.

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND WE HAVE PROPOSED ALDRICH
MISSION. WE SEE THESE OBJECTIVES:

(A) TO PROVIDE FORIGN MINISTER MALIK PRIMARILY
WITH ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS AND IMPLE-
MENTATION PARIS AGREEMENTS, INCLUDING POSSIBILITY OF
RENEWED CONTACTS BETWEEN GVN AND NVN/PRG; (OUR
IMPRESSIN IS THAT MALIK IS ONE OF STRONGER
SUPPORTERS OF CONTINUED INDONESIAN INVOLVEMENT IN
ICCS AND THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM WILL BE USED
BOLSTER HIS ARGUMENTATION FOR REMAINING.)

(B) GIVE, TO EXTENT WE CAN, ASSESSMENT OF
MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM
INCLUDING EFFECT OF RECENT CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS
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ON OUR PRESENCE;

(C) SHARE OUR ESTIMATE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE
ATTITUDES, INCLUDING LIKELIHOOD OF NEW OFFENSIVE;

(D) SHARE OUR ASSESSMENT OF ICCS EFFECTIVENESS
AND ROLE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES INCLUDING ANY
MOVES WE MAY BE MAKING TO BREAK IMPASSE;

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(E) SHARE ANY INFORMATION POSSIBLE ON RESUMPTION
DIRECT US/NVN DISCUSSIONS OR ON POSSIBILITY SITUATION
MAY BE DISCUSSED AT MOSCOW SUMMIT; (IN MY MEETING
WITH MINISTER OF STATE SUDHARMONO HE PLACED GREAT
EMPHASIS ON U.S. ROLE.)

(F) ARGUMENTATION, BASED ON AGREEMENTS, AGAINST
ACCORDING FURTHER INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION TO PRG
AS GOVENMENT. IN THIS AND OTHER POINTS WILL BE
HELPFUL STRESS INTERRELATED NATURE OF PARIS AGREEMENTS
AND RISK TO STRUCTURE OF PROMOTING SOLUTION APART FROM
AGREEMENTS. (ALDRICH SHOULD ANTICIPATE QUESTIONS
ABOUT ADVISABILITY/FEASIBILITY OF RECONVENING PARIS
CONFERENCE -- FOR THERE IS SOME FEELING HERE THAT
SUCH STEP OFFERS HOPE OF ENCOURAGING POLITICAL SOLUTION
AND BETTER FUNCTIONING OF ICCS.)

6. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE MAY BE AREAS HERE WHICH
IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO COVER AND IN WMZCH ASSESSSMENTS
MAY BE PESSIMISTIC. WE RECOGNIZE ALSO OTHER POSSIBLE
PITFALLS. INDONESIANS COULD RAISE QUESTION OF U.S.
FINANCIAL HELP. INDONESIANS MAY ALSO ASK ABOUT CAMBODIA'S
FUTURE, OUTLOOK FOR LON NOL GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF CAMBODIAN
SITUATION ON VIETNAM. WE BELIEVE THAT NEVERTHELESS, CANDID
EXPOSITION OF OUR VIEWS WILL SERVE TO DEMONSTRATE
IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO IMHONESIAN RELATIONSHIP
AND WILL HELP BOLSTER VOICES IN GOI PRESS SYMPATHETIC
TO CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT.

7. WE ANTICPATE ALDRICH TALKS WOULD BE INITIALLY
WITH MALIK, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT PEOPLE AND MINISTER
OF STATE SUDHARMONO -- AND WE WILL BE SEEKING THEIR
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ADVICE ON HOW BEST TO HAVE ALDRICH MAKE VIEWS KNOWN
TO PRESIDENT, GENERAL PANGGABEAN AND OTHERS
(E.G. GENERALS YOGA, SUHUD AND SOERONO). WE PLAN
EMPHASIZE ALDRICH VISIT IS THAT OF EXPERT FAMILIAR
WITH PROBLEM AND NOT HIGH-LEVEL EMISSARY WITH ANY
SPECIAL MESSAGE.
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